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"LIBERTY, THE UNION, AND THE CONSTITUTION."

CITY OF WASHINGTON, THURSDAY MORNING, JUNE 19, 1856.

CONGRESSIONAL.

SPEECH OF HON. A. P. BUTLER,

On the bill to enable the people of Kansas Territory to form a constitution and State government, preparatory to their admission into the Union when they have the requisite population; delivered in the Senate, June 12, 1856.

MR. BROOKS AND MR. SUMNER,

Mr. BUTLER said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: The occasion and the subject upon which I am about to address the Senate of the United States, at this time, have been brought about by events over which I have had no control, and could have had none—events which have grown out of the commencement of a controversy for which the senator from Massachusetts (not now in his seat) [Mr. Sunner Jahould be held exclusively responsible to his country and his God. He has delivered a speech the most extraordinary that has ever had utterance in any deliberative body recognising the sanctions of law and decency. When it was delivered I was not here; and if I had been present, what I should have done it would be perfectly idle for me now to say, because no one can substitute the deliberations of a subsequent period for such as might have influenced him at another time and under different circumstances. My impression now is as might have inhuenced him a about the an under different circumstances. My impression now is that, if I had been present, I should have asked the senator, before he finished some of the paragraphs personally applicable to myself, to pause; and if he had gone on, I would have demanded of him the next morning that he should review that speech and retract or modify it, so as to be a finished within the arrivage of the property. If oring it within the sphere of parliamentary propriety. If he had refused this, what I would have done I cannot say; yet I can say that I would not have submitted to it. But what mode of redress I should have resorted to I cannot

what mode or reactors were at least assumed, as I ought to have done on my responsibility as a senator, and on my responsibility as a representative of South Carolina, all the consequences, let them lead where they might; but instead of that, the speech has involved his own friends and his own colleague. It has involved my friends. It has involved one of them to such an extent that, at this time, he has been obliged to put his fortune and his life at stake. And, sir, if the consequences which are likely to flow from that speech hereafter shall end in blood and violence, that senator should be prepared to repent in saccoloth and ashes.

cloth and ashes.

Now, I pronounce a judgment on that speech which will be adopted by the public. I am as certain as I am speaking that it is now condemned by the public mind, and by posterity it will be consigned to infamy, for the mischievous consequences which have flowed from it already, and

such as are likely yet to disturb the peace and repose of the country.

I said nothing, Mr. President, at any period of my lifemuch less did I say anything in the course of the debate to which he purports to have made a reply—that could have called for, much less have justified, the gross personal abuse, traduction, and calumny, to which he has resorted. When I was at my little farm, enjoying myself quietly, and, as I thought, had taken refuge from the strikes and contentions of the Senate and of pointies, a message was brought to me that my kinsman had been involved in a difficulty on my account. It was so vague that I did not know how to account for it. I was far from any telegraphic communication. I did not wait five minutes before I left home to put myself within the reach of such information—and garbled even that was—as was accessiinformation—and garbled even that was—as was accessible. I travelled four days continuously to Washington; and when I arrived I found the very subject under discussion which had given me so much concern; and it has been a source of the deepest concern to my feelings ever since I heard of it, on many accounts—on account of my country, and on account of the honor and the safety of my kinsman. When I arrived here I found the subject kinsman. When I arrived here I found the subject or discussion. I went to the Senate worn down by the sand I then gave notice that, when the resolutions a Massachusetts should be presented, I would speak to not a commonwealth whose history, whose lessons of history, had inspired me with the highest admiration—I would speak to them from a cert to a Commonwealth, whilst, perhaps, the senator had been the cause of their introduction ought not to

respect to a Commonwealth, whilst, perhaps, the senator who had been the cause of their introduction ought not to deserve my notice, and would not have received it.

Well, sir, days passed, and those resolutions were not presented. Now they have been presented, and presented in a different way from any that I have ever known to be submitted from any Commonwealth before. They were not presented by one of its senators, but were sent directly to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives. I waited for some time, with the expectation that when these resolutions should come I would acquit myself of the painful task which circumstances had elevolved upon me. They did not come until yesterday—more than two weeks after their adoption.

In the mean time—on Monday last—I gave notice that I would address the Senate to-day, under the confident belief, not that the present senator [Mr. Willow] would be here—because I have nothing to do with him—but that the senator who has been the aggressor, the criminal aggressor, in this matter, would be prasent; and, if I give credence to the testimony of Dr. Boyle, I see no reason why he should not be present. For anything that appears in that testimony, if he had been an officer of the army, and had not appeared the next day on the battle-field, he would have deserved to be cashiered.

Sir. I am at a loss to know why he has aimed his as-

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I must say, Mr. President, that I was utterly disappointed in the body of the speech. Independent of the personalities which have distorted and disgraced it, there is nothing in the speech to distinguish it from pretty nearly all the speeches which he has made upon this subject—and I believe he has scarcely made any speeches on any other. He is one of those one-idea men who always go one way. Whilst this speech has much of the identity of former efforts, it has none of the freshness of their originality. If there is anything that varies it at all, and distinguishes it from the others, it is the calico pictures impressed upon the "warp and woof" of his former speeches in the form of from the others, it is the calico pictures impressed upon the "warp and woof" of his former speeches in the form of quotations; some of which—I say it as a moralist and as a senator—stain the cloth upon which they are impressed, more by their obscenity than he can adorn it with the clare of their coloring.

more by their coloring.

I have made these remarks upon the character of the speech. He may regard them as criticism. Whether my criticism be one that will be adopted by the public, or such as will address itself to the good taste and good sense of this audience, I know not. I have given the convictions of my mind. After these remarks upon the character of the speech, I come to make my points; and I will maintain them, not by general charges without specifications; not by that proclivity to error and falsehood which he so decently imputed to me; not by general declamation from which he can take refuge in his own authority; but I will prove them by documents beyond all question.

Upon another occasion I remarked that I would be the last man to do or to say anything that would commit the issue in Kansas to the arbitrament of the sword in the hands of youth. Mine was a warning and a kind voice.

Before I proceed with the argument of my main points further, I will make a suggestion which may, perhaps, appear parenthetical. When the senator from Massachusetts took his seet near me, I knew that he was a free-soiler, or abolitionist, as it was termed; but notwithstanding that, I had read some of his productions, and he was introduced to me, or perhaps I to him. I had known many who came into the Senate of the United States recking with prejudices from home, who afterwards had the courage to lift themselves above the temporary influences which had controlled them. I supposed that a man who had read history could not be a bigot. I believed that one who was imbued with the literature which that senator's mind had imbibed could not sin in the face of light, and truth, and the lessons of history. With these views, I did not hesitate to keep up what my friends complained of, an intercourse with him, which was calculated to give him a currency far beyond what he was a greed—except, perhaps, in the Phelps case. with the literature which that senators ining had imposed could not sin in the face of light, and truth, and the lessons of history. With these views, I did not hesitate to keep up what my friends complained of, an intercourse with him, which was calculated to give him a currency far beyond what he might have had if I had not indulged in that species of might have had if I had not indulged in that species of intercourse. My friends here and everywhere know it. When I made my reply to him on the Nebraska and Kansas bill, I complimented him. I did not hesitate to compliment him, and he was gratified at it, for he said so. Illis opinion of me as a lawyer was very different then, (if I may be allowed to speak of what he then said,) not only on this floor, but to other persons. I did not hesitate to forbear a proscriptive judgment on any man because he happened to differ with me to-day or to-morrow; for life, sir, is but a span anyhow. I thought the time might come when the tide of events would bring to him the awful certainty of the doctrines which he held, and which in the first instance, when he came here, he was not disposed to propagate.

Things stood in this way until one day when it was proposed here to repeal the fugitive-slave law. I said that I had no great confidence in that law, and turned to him with an honest purpose, with no design whatever to provoke anything like a personal or sectional issue, and asked of the senator from Magachusetts whether, if there were no fugitive-slave law, Massachusetts would be willing to carry out the provision of the constitution. Then it was in excitement, or as he said "impulse"—an impulse, as I characterized it then, of the drawer—he rose and asked me if "he was a dog to do this thing?" I treated this answer with ridicule; it abaplately did not touch my heart; and after that I spoke to him.

Three days afterward he came in with a labored philipicit touching me more deeply than he had before; but he then

touching me more deeply than be had before; but he then made for the first time, a charge affecting the revolutionary history of South Carolina, by saying that John Rutledge, who was honored by Washington and all his counties the desired in a smalling it, he is guilty of the worst of all faults.

decently imputed to me; not by general declamation from which he can take refuge in his own authority; but I will prove them by documents beyond all question.

In the first place, I say, that what the senator said of me and of the State of South Carolina was dragged into the debate by no law of legitimate association or connexion but it was injected into his speech positively in disregard of the tone and spirit of mine—neither in reply to, nor in recognition or, the kindness and forbearance which pervaded my speech. Sir, I am now passing through the last to friends, "The last thing I would wish is to have my name or reputation, if I have any, associated with party strife, much less with party contentions." My speech upon the Kansas question was the most guarded and remarkable for its forbearance of any that I have ever delivered. I commenced it by this declaration:

"It may be said that I have passed through the orden! of experience, and perhaps of time, and that they have had their influence on my temper; but, sir, I look on anything like a rupture in civil government, and especially such a one as would throw us into the horrors of anarchy, with not the same view as others who may be more intrepid, and who may think they can come out of it without hazard to themselves. There is nothing so mischieveus to society as any movement affecting its stability, uncontrolled by responsibility and unregulated by intelligence."

Upon another occasion I remarked that I would be the last man to do or to say anything that would commit the issue in Kansas to the arbitrament of the sword in the last man to do or to say anything that would commit the issue in Kansas to the arbitrament of the sword in the last man to do or to say anything that would commit the issue in Kansas to the arbitrament of the sword in the last man to do or to say anything that would commit the last man to do or to say anything that would commit the last man to do or to say anything that would commit the last man to do or to say anything that would commit

we have agreed—except, perhaps, in the Phelps case. There he may have differed from me; but if he did, the Senate overruled him.

Senate overruled him.

That, however, is not the question which I was approaching. I said that what he stated in reference to the constitution of South Carolina was not in response to anything which had fallen from me, and that there was no such thing to be found in the constitution of South Carolina as

he has quoted. I will read the clause:

"No person shall be eligible to a seat in the house of representatives unless be is a free white man, of the age of twenty-one years, and hath been a citizen and resident of this State three years previous to his election. If a resident in the election district, he shall be eligible to a seat in the house of representatives unless he be legally seized and possessed, in his own right, of a settled freehold estate of five hundred acres of land and ten negroes; or of a real estate of the value of one hundred and fifty pounds sterling, clear of debt. If a non-resident, he shall be legally seized and possessed of a settled freehold estate therein of the value of five hundred pounds sterling, clear of debt."

I venture to say that nearly half of the members of the

nto operation, a public meeting was held at Charleston south Carolina. The moving spirits were the Trapiers and the Elliots, the Horries and the Clarksons, the Gadsdens and he Pinekneys, of that day; and resolutions were passed ful of brotherly love and sympathy for the inhabitants of Bos on.

of brotherly love and sympathy for the inhabitants of Boston."

"New York, August 15, 1774.—Saturday last Captain Dickerson arrived here, and brought three hundred and seventy-aix barrels of rye from South Carolina, to be sold, and proceeds remitted to Boston, a present to the sufferer; a still larger cargo is to be shipped for the like benevolent purpose."

"Let the work of abolition go forward in a dignified and decent spirit. Let us argue; and, so far as we rightfully may, let us legislate. Let us bring the whole world's sympathy up to the work of emancipation. But let us not revile and vituperate those who are, to all intents and purposes, our brethren, as certainly a if they lived just over the Roxbury line, instead of Mason and Dixon's. Such harsh and unmitigated scoffing and abuse, as we too often witness, are equally ungracious, ungentlemanly, and ungrateful."

The senator says that the southern States in conse-

The senator says that the southern States, in conse-uence of slavery, betrayed during the revolutionary war "shameful imbecility." I challenge him to the truth of says that but for northern aid the southern States could

war. It turned the tide of events. Who fought the battle of Cowpens? There was none in that battle from the north of Maryland. Her commander, Howard, is perhaps, in some respects, the hero of that action. Colonel Washington, commander of the cavalry, and Pickens, a citizen of South Carolina, and one of the heroes of the revolutionary war, commanded the militia, and they never shrank from their post. It has been said of the South Carolina militia, during the revolutionary war, that they were the only raw troops who stood to their guns and position whenever they were mustered into the service and called upon to perform duty.

Who fought the battle of Hobkirk's Hill? Gen. Green was the commander; and he afterwards because a slave-holder, and, of his own choice, lived and died in a souther stroops, he conceived the bold experiment of crossing the Savasnahriver and reclaiming Georgia. His willy coverary, who was in Savannah, took advantage of the viewards and comrades in arms. Who

holder, and, of his own choice, liven and there are. Who ern State, among friends and comrades in arms. Who fought the battle of Eutaw? Was there any New England quand there? Not one. That regiment, or company, or squad there? Not one. That battle, the most distinguished which has ever been fought in the southern portion of the confederacy, was fought by southern slaveholders from Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia. They were exclusively southern troops. In the face of these facts the senator said the imbecility of the South, arising from slavery, that they could not fight their battles without aid

Tranklin; and yet he referred to this household character, while acting as agent of our staters in England, as above any expension of the england of the eng maintain the position of an honorable combatant. Though his friends have invested him with the dress of Achilles and offered him his armor, he has shown that he is only able to fight with the weapons of Thersites, and deserved him with the agent of our fathers in England, as above suspicion; and this was done that he might give point to a false what that brawler received from the hands of the gallant support of the Revolution of the character of the State of South Carolina, volume 1, page 43, you will find; on the character of the State of South Carolina, volume 1, page 43, you will find; on the character of the State of South Carolina, volume 1, page 43, you will find; on the character of the State of South Carolina, volume 1, page 43, you will find; on the character of the State of South Carolina, volume 1, page 43, you will find; on the character of the State of South Carolina, volume 1, page 43, you will find; on the character of the State of South Carolina, volume 1, page 43, you will find; on the character of the State of South Carolina, volume 1, page 43, you will find; on the character of the State of South Carolina, volume 1, page 43, you will find; on the character of the State of South Carolina, volume 1, page 43, you will find; on the character of the State of South Carolina, volume 1, page 43, you will find; on the character of the State of South Carolina, volume 1, page 43, you will find; on the character of the State of South Carolina, volume 1, page 43, you will find; on the character of the State of South Carolina, volume 1, page 43, you will find; on the character of the State of South Carolina, volume 1, page 43, you will find; on the character of the State of South Carolina, volume 1, page 43, you will find; on the character of the State of South Carolina, volume 1, page 43, you will find; on the character of the State of South Carolina, volume 1, page 43, you will find; on the character, the character of the State of South Carolina, volume 1, page 43, you will find; on the character, the ch

His tribute to South Carolina is worth something. It is the tribute of a statesman and an orator—of a man who could lift himself above the bigotry, and even prepare to be crushed under the wheel of wild fanaticism. It is such a tribute as was paid by an orator like Pericles, who had a tribute helm of State, who had an Athenian spirit of patriotism, who was an orator and a statesman. Who is

in possession of Savannah, and Georgia in fact was under British authority. When Lincoln took command of the southern troops, he conceived the bold experiment of cross-ing the Savannah river and reclaiming Georgia. His willy adversary, who was in Savannah, took advantage of his being at Augusta, about one hundred and fifty miles above, that they could not fight their battles without aid.

Shame! I call upon the shade of Hancock and Adams to look down and reprove a degenerate son who can thus invade the very sanctuary of the history which has given them immortality.

Do you think that, sic, by this remark I reproach the troops of New England 2 No, sir. When Yorktown surrendered there was not a New England regiment there; I have a list of the troops who were present. But because with the terms which, for appearance sake he had bro-

on which this surrender shall be made." Cornwallis said

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so opened rollina. Now, sir, I have done with these topics. I have not vindicated the history of South Carolina. I sak the Senstron at the bear me testimony that I have not gone into this with a view to vindicate her. She does not need matter with a view to vindicate her. She does not need it. Adopting the language of Daniel Webster, I may say: "There is South Carolina; there she stands; she speaks for herself; she needs no eulogy;" she cannot be injured by the detraction of one who is under an influence not of

Having finished with these throsts at the constitution of South Carolina, and at her history and character, I come now to another matter in relation to myself. He says that I have such a proclivity to error in my statistics that I have as many words of error as I utter. What a wholesale assertion is that! Strange to say, I resorted to no i statistics at all on the occasion to which he alluded. When I interrupted the senator from New Hampshire, [Mr. Hale,] I had on my table returns from the Charleston custom-house. I alluded to them in general terms, to prove what he cannot dispute that the slave trade was carried on in northern, and English, and Scotch vessels; that the profits of it redounded to them; and that, when the slave trade was opened, it gave them the regulation of cor, merce. The venerable grandfather of my friend from Virginia, [Mr. Masox.] in the convention, had inserted into the constitution provision that a two-thirds vote of Congress should be necessary for the passage of any measure to regulate

since sown. They are weeds, the seeds of which that same great arm never scattered."

Mr. BUTLER. Sir. Daniel Webster is a Doric statue upon a colossal pedestal raised by the hands of patriots—raised by the hands of statesmen, a pedestal which is imperishable as long as the achievements of heroes, patriots, and statesmen can be transmitted to posterity by history, this tribute to South Carolina is worth something. It is the tribute of a statesman and an orator—of a man who could lift himself above the bigotry, and even prepare to be crushed under the wheel of wild fanaticism. It is such a tribute as was paid by an orator like Pericles, who had guided the heim of State, who had an Athenlan spirit of patriolism, who was an orator and a statesman. Who is he that now gives a different opinion of South Carolina. It is the tint and Cleon—one whose warfare is to assail his antagonist by crimination, calumny, and private slander—man who draws his similes from obscene sources, and always thinks he has conquered when he has mortified and hurt the feelings of his adversary?

"Look upon that picture, and then upon this"—
I will not finish the quotation; I shall say nothing in this debate but what I believe to be true. If I were to undertake to compare the senator from Massachusetts who is absent—I can well say,

"Look upon that picture, and then upon this"—
I will not finish the quotation; I shall say nothing in this debate but what I believe to be true. If I were to undertake to compare the senator from Massachusetts with the coarseness of Cleon in some of his similes and his groosness in some of his attacks on his adversary—I mean in point of taste—I might do injustice to my own criticism, because I believe the senator is a man who understands the use of language—a gentleman who has gone back to classic fountians, and in that respect I separate him from Cleon, but otherwise not at all. Let the young men and boys who hear me go and read the cleon, and, when they do, let them read the notice which even Grote the sector of

The Secretary read the following extract from Mr. Susen's speech of May 19:

The Secretary read the following extract from Mr. Summers speech of May 19:

"But, before enterlag upon the argument, I must say something of a general character, particularly in response to what has fallen from senators who have raised themselves to epileence on this floor in championship of human wrongs; I mean the senator from South Carolina [Mr. Dovolas,] who, though unlike as Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, yet, like this couple, sally forth together in the same adventure. I regret much to mise the elder senator from his seat; but the cause, against which he has run a tilt with such activity of animosity, demands that the opportunity of exposing him should not be lost; and it is for the cause that I speak. The senator from South Carolina has read many books of chivalry, and believes himself a chivalrous knight, with sentiments of honor and courage. Of course he has chosen a mistress to whom he has made his vows; and who, though ugly to others, is always lovely to him; though polluted in the sight of the world, is chaste in his sight—I mean the harlot slavery. For her his tongue is always profuse in words. Let her be impeached in character, or any proposition made to shat her out from the extension of her wantonness, and no extrawagance of manner or hardibood of assertion is then too great for this senator. The phrenay of Don quixots, in behalf of his wench Dulcinea del Toboso, is all surpassed. The asserted rights of slavery, which shock equality of all kinds, are cloaked by a fantastic claim of equality of all kinds, are cloaked by a fantastic claim of equality of all kinds, are cloaked by a fantastic claim of equality of all kinds, are cloaked by a fantastic claim of equality of all kinds, are cloaked by a fantastic claim of equality of all kinds, are cloaked by a fantastic claim of equality of all kinds, are cloaked by a fantastic claim of equality of all kinds, are cloaked by a fantastic claim of equality of all kinds, are cloaked by a fantastic claim of equality of all kinds, are cloaked by a funtastic

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